# THE BLACK PANTHER

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## LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERCOMMUNALISM AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



# TOLEDO SHERIFF DEPARTMENT'S FASCIST PIGS ATTACK INMATES THAT SENT REPORT TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NEWSPAPER


"The Dungeon", Lucas County jail

In the Nov. 28th, issue of the Black Panther, an article entitled: "The "Dungeon" appeared, exposing conditions in Toledo's Lucas County jail. This article was sent in from the inmates of the maximum security section of this jail. It throughly described the inhuman living conditions of the "The Dungeon" and the physical abuse and beatings the inmates suffer from the racist pigs of the Sheriffs Dept.

The inmates knew that their lives would be in grave danger because of this, but they felt that getting the truth to the people about what was happening in this fascist pig pen was much more important than their own personal safety. This was clearly shown in the last paragraph of the article which stated "All the men (five Black and five White) incarcerated in this jail's maximum security section have signed this report being well aware of the physical and mental repression that will follow from the jail's administration. They wish the people to know that no matter what happens to them they have stood up and are resisting as men."

Tuesday Dec. 8, 1970, under pretense of conducting a weapons search, more than 25 racist pigs and their bootlicking flunky nigger pigs, launched an unprovoked, brutal attack against the men in the maximum security section of the Lucas County Jail. When the pigs started brutalizing and beating them, the brothers righteously began to defend themselves. Within minutes the rest of the inmates on all three jail floors began to join in the resistance against the pig deputies. For 2 hours the prisoners of the dungeon resisted heavily armed pigs from the Sheriffs Dept. and city Police.

Two prisoners, David Hill and Haniel Worthan, of the maximum security section received serious head injuries when two coward deputy pigs hit them in the head with lead pipes after they had agreed to return to their cells. Each received over 15 stitches in his head because of these injuries. Even though they were heavily armed and protected by special riot helmets and shields, six pigs, Michael Ames, Joseph Inman, Joseph Ray, Charles Faircloth, Robert Chomick and Roger Ruebush, received serious injuries, 17 prisoners were beaten, stripped of their clothes and sent to the hole (A 10'x12' windowless room in the basement). Included among them was a sick 73 year old Black man and two members of the N.C.C.F., John and Larry McClellan. All 17 prisoners remained in this room for 2 days and were literally covered with their own wastes The only food they received was one cup of water and one slice of bread a day per person.

Over half of the prisoners in the hole became violently ill after the first 24 hours of confinement in this unventilated, unlighted and cold damp room. There are no sanitary facilities so the nauseating odor caused by the human wastes of 17 men was unbearable. Also the room was so crowded that many of the prisoners had to stand up the entire 2 day period in the hole. The men who stood sacrificed so that some space could be provided for the sick inmates so badly beaten by the guards that they could not stand. Sheriff Metzger and other members of the jail's administration intended to let these righteous brothers die in the hole. However, Thursday Dec. 10, incarcerated N.C.C.F. member John McClellan, accused of offing racist pig Miscannon Sept. 18th, 1970, stopped a pre-trial motion in his defense to expose the conditions that he and 16 other men had been subjected to for over 48 hours in the hole. He refused to participate any further in the court proceedings until the cruel and unusual punishment was immediately ended.

Presiding Judge, Wiley, adjourned the court and visited the jail along with newsmen and attorneys, from 1:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M. When court was re-convened he ordered that John McClellan released from the hole immediately. This brother again showed that he is a true servant of the people when he said, "The constitutional rights of the other 16 men are also being violated. I will not leave these other men in the hole to die. If we are not all released together, then I will return to the hole with my friends, many, who are sick and will die it not released immediately." Judge Wiley then ordered Sheriff Metzger to release all the men held in the hole. This racist pig Judge had seen with his own eyes, the degradation of 17 naked human beings covered with their own wastes and visibly very sick. Yet, all he could relate to was releasing John McClellan. This brother exposed the true nature of this pig and backed him up against the wall, where in order not to show his fascist nature, he had to recognize the rights of the other prisoners held in the hole.

Then Judge Wiley began making some rules for the jail. The rules pig Judge Wiley set up still allowed prisoners to be returned to the hole for security reasons under certain conditions. Of course those ,certain conditions" were left to be defined by Pig Sheriff Metzger, who had originally ordered the 17 inmates put in the hole.

Now a prisoner can remain in the hole for only 12 hours at a time and then be released for 6 hours before returning again. Still this rule doesn't stop his said constitutional rights against cruel and unusual punishment from being violated. It just determines how long his rights will be violated.

A prisoner will still be stripped naked, forced to sleep on a concrete floor if its not too crowded, have no toilet facilities or running water and receive bread and water to eat. Actually, nothing has changed regarding the way the prisoners are treated in the hole, only the length of time they are to be kept in there. To end the sham, Pig Judge Wiley had the nerve to oink the following statement' "This is an unsatisfactory solution, but I had to balance the necessity for security against a minumum of decency."

The pigs have always put their security and profits before the desires and needs of the people. The crimes being committed daily in the "Dungeon" are comparable to the horrendous war crimes committed by the Nazis against their victims in the concentration camps.

Today, the barbarous ruling class of America far surpasses the Nazis in Germany. They are making and implementing plans for the total extermination of Black people in America, and waging a genocidal war on the rest of the poor and oppressed in the world. We are not going to rid ourselves of the brutality and murder waged daily against the people of the world by the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell-Hoover fascist clique, unless all people rise up and begin to wage revolutionary armed struggle within every oppressed community of the world. In essence, we must relate to the social and political ideology of intercommunalism so that all people of the world can no longer be manipulated along racial, cultural, and national lines by the fascists of America.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNAL SOLIDARITY!

Toledo N.C.C.F.
1334 Dorr St.
Toledo, Ohio

# PRESS RELEASE: UNITED FRONT OF CAIRO


Chief of staff of the United Front of Cairo Mr. James Chairs

Arrested in the reception area of Governor Richard B. Ogilvie's office in Spring-field (Ill.) was Mr. James Chairs, chief of staff of the United Front of Cairo. Mr. Chairs was placed under arrest by two state policemen at about 4:35 p.m, Wednesday, January 6, 1971, after he and three other members of the Front had attempted to see a Governor's aide concerning the "outrageous" actions by Alexander Co. State's Attorney, Peyton Berbling in promiscuously and unnecessarily issuing warrants against Black people in Cairo. Mr. Chairs had been indicted by a Berbling controlled White racist dominated Grand Jury on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. This stemmed from a White-instigared racial incident in Cairo, December 5, 1970. Fifteen other Blacks were arrested that day.

Officials of the Front have stated that the situation is so bad, that with such an increasing large number of Black residents being arrested and high bails being set that it was necessary to have Mr. Chairs arrested at the Governor's office to dramatize how far Berbling has gone in this type of suppressive action and how inactive state officials have been in attempting to remedy these destructive practices.

"We can no longer allow the continued oppression of our people by the top law-enforcement people in this country go un-noticed," said the Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the United Front, "The situation has deteriorated so much that we must take other appropriate actions. In the future when our people are to be arrested, we will take them, along with many more people to the Governor's office. The Governor is one of the men who can see that the harrassment and illegal practices of Berbling be stopped. He has refused to act. Since he has not, we will be there to remind him of his 'sin of ommission.'"

The Rev. Koen stated that in a conversation in Springfield on January 6, with Paul Wisner, a top Ogilvie aide, that he was told by Wisner that "Something indeed needs to be done about Berbling" but the Governor was unwilling to do anything. "This helps to point out that Black people in Cairo and the State cannot expect positive help from State officials even when these officials know of illegal and discriminatory practices against them. If anyone ever doubted Pharoah Ogilvie's lack of conern for Black people in Illinois, his 'State of the State' address should remove those doubts. In all of his expressions of concern not once did he mention human relations, the racial problems nor the Cairo situation. He is still more concerned about highways and money than he is in the poor and oppressed people. Before this is all over, with all of our people being arrested at the Governor's office, perhaps people all over the country will realize exactly what is going on against black people in Cairo and in this state," said the Rev. Koen.



## SOUTH END TO MATTAPAN: MIGRATION CONTINUES

The present policies and actions of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) cannot be viewed as "coincidental" nor can it be isolated from the desperate attempt by the ruling circle to stifle the revolutionary potential of the dispossessed peoples of the world.

Boston's South End has the largest percentage and concentration of unemployed and under-employed (Lumpen-Proletariat) in the entire greater Boston Area. As a result, the people of the South End are not only subjected to the most deplorable conditions and suffer the most from over-exploitation as manifested in the cost of living in comparison to their income, but they are also met with the heaviest acts of brutality, murder and terror by the fascist dog police. We see that the people of the South End can understand more readily the necessity for a transformation of this present society, and they also carry more potential to struggle for that transformation or die trying.

A grenade's throw away from the wretched South End community is the financial district of Boston. There, sit the bald-head businessmen whose greed has created the present South End, just as greed has created the Viet Nams, Guinea-Bissau's, Mozambique's, etc. So we can see very clearly that while creating such wretched conditions the avaricious businessmen have also created the forces of their own destruction.

In a desperate attempt to stifle the revolutionary potentiality which they themselves have created, the businessmen with the aid of the BRA, racist slumlords, and endorsed spokesmen, have implemented a plan to decrease the concentration of the Lumpen-proletariat in Boston's South End.

Approximately 80% of the housing has been taken over by the BRA under the guise of creating adequate low income housing for the poor. In reality the houses are being rehabilitated into town-houses and lavish looking apartment buildings with rents exceeding $200.00 per month. The people who are being relocated "until the rehabilitation has been completed" never have nor will they ever be moved back to the South End. Instead, White people with incomes of between $15,000-$20,000 per year are moving in after the "rehabilitation has been completed."

As a result the concentration of the Lumpen-proletariat are being dispersed into the far larger and more diverse area of Mattapan. At this time the oppression of Mattapan is more hidden than that of the South End. The greedy businessmen would like to believe that this plan will manifest itself in a simple repitition of what occured in the South End. However, we realize that things are always in a constant state of change, and that the businessmen and all their programs and institutions, can no more keeep the people of the South End community pacified than they have been able to pacify the people of the Vietnamese community.

As the people of the South End migrate to Mattapan, they will take with them an even clearer understanding of the necessity to destroy the rulers just as people are doing all over the planet earth.

REVOLUTIONARY - INTER-COMMUNALISM WILL MAKE ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE A REALITY!

Boston Chapter
Black Panther Party

## HOUSING CRISIS IN LOS ANGELES BLACK COMMUNITY

In Imperial Courts Projects...

Stephanie Herbert of 2244 E. 113th Street in the Imperial Courts Projects has received seven or eight eviction notices informing her that she must leave her unit



Mrs. Herbert and, one of her three sons.

in Imperial Courts, if she doesn't pay her rent balance of $20.00. Meanwhile the fascist puppets of the Los Angeles Welfare office in conjunction with the housing Authority in the Imperial Courts area (Watts) make it impossible for Mrs. Herbert and her three children to pay the balance. The sister's rent is $40.00 per month and $6.00 for furniture. She received her county check December 1, 1970 and paid $20.00 of her rent, leaving a balance of $20.00. She planned to pay that balance on the 15th, when her next check would come. On December 15th Mrs. Herbert's check didn't come and it hasn't come yet. Knowing this, the local Housing Authority pig, Mr. Christ, continues to send eviction notices by his project pigs, refusing to let Mrs. Herbert and her three children survive.

On January 4, 1971, when Mrs. Herbert went to see her social worker, Mrs. Thret, at the Bishop Center on 93rd and Central, she was told that her checks would be stopped. The sister was also denied an emergency loan and food supply. The fools down at the Welfare office tried to justify their not giving Mrs. Herbert a check and thus denying her family a home one of their basic human rights, by saying she was still living with her husband. In addition she is being charged with defrauding the County!

This trumped-up charge resulted from an invasion of the privacy of Mrs. Herbert's home under false pretenses. At 7:00 A.M., on December 16th, Mrs. Herbert's estranged (they have been separated for over a year) husband came by to see his two sons, before going downtown to an appointment. A bootlicking pig by the name of Charles W. Harris knocked at the door some 15 minutes after Mr. Herbert's arrival. When the sister answered the door, the slimy pig showed her "ID" as a Housing Authority "inspector". His story was that he came to see if the house was satisfactory. After a five minute conversation, he asked if his "partner" could come in. Mrs. Herbert asked where he was. Pig Harris answered that he was at the back door. Immediately upon entering, the pig partner met Mr. Herbert who was coming down the stairs.

The three of them joined Pig Harris in the living room and had a thirty minute conversation on petty affairs. At the end of the one-half hour talk, this low-lifed beast, Harris, began to accuse Mr. Herbert of living there and supporting the children. Mr. Herbert tried to explain his presence, but the pig wouldn't listen, so the brother left.



Although Charles W. Harris carries the official identification of the Housing Public Authority, he is in fact a Black lackey pig detective for the "Bureau of Public Assistance." Harris in conjunction with his lackey friends have increased the oppression of Mrs. Herbert and her family. Mrs. Stephanie Herbert and her three children know that the denial of their basic human needs shelter, and food is only part of the genocidal plot of the United States Empire to maintain rule over the poor people of the world's communities.

## IN JORDAN DOWNS PROJECTS

Erma Grant of 10109 Juniper Street (Jordan Downs Projects), mother of three children is being ousted into the cold streets by the puppet slumlords of the avaricious Housing Authority.

Since, Mrs. Grant moved into the projects, two years ago, the Housing Authority has been promising to rid her home of the overflowing nests of roaches. When she first moved in, the Housing Authority told her she had to pay for the roach spray. She refused to pay them but they finally "exterminated" the unit They have exterminated the unit three times since then and have yet to get rid of the roaches. Yet since then she has had to pay each time, through extra charges in her rent, for roach spray. Now she has been served with an eviction notice, because she refuses to pay rent until the Housing Authority gets rid of the roaches. Mrs. Bradford, who runs the Housing Authority office in the projects refuses to have someone exterminate the unit on the grounds that in order to do one unit they have to do a whole row. Mrs. Grant tried to move once into decent housing outside of the projects on a county assisted program. She was refused because the Housing Authority said she didn't pay her rent on time, a requirement for the program. The Housing Authority failed to mention that the reason she doesn't pay the rent on time is in protest against the roaches and other indecent and unsanitary conditions of the projects.

Last July, after returning from the hospital and being unable to move around, Erma called upon the county to send a babysitter-housekeeper to deal with her family until her recovery. After three days of being in the house, the housekeeper called into the county office and told them that she would not return to the house because the roaches were too bad and she therefore had become violently ill.

But Mrs. Grant is strong and ready to deal with Mrs. Bradford. and all pigs and their puppets, on any level! If they want rent, then get rid of the roaches; No extermination, No rent!! Avaricious slumlords and bootlickers beware! The community will put down the roach spray, rat poison, mops and brooms and meet you at the door with 12-guage shotguns!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

## PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM



Sunday, December 20, 1970, the Toledo N.C.C.F. People's Free Clothing Program was initiated in the community. We clothed many families of our community. One particular family had sixteen members and we were able to fully clothe each member with one or more suitable sets of clothes. This program is just one of the various types of programs we will implement to meet the basic needs of Black people and all oppressed people in general. We will continue to serve the people whole-heartedly, never ceasing to intensify the struggle to meet their basic needs and secure complete freedom.

We wish to express our sincere appreciation to all the people who helped make the initiation of the People's Free Clothing Program a huge success. Anyone wanting to donate clothing or wishing further information, please contact:

National Committee to Combat Fascism
1334 Dorr Street
Toledo, Ohio
(419) 246-7822
Irene Moore
Co-orminator
Free Clothing Program

# INTERCOMMUNAL SOLIDARITY DAY FOR CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE




As can be seen from the following reports the peoples of the communities of the world are aware of what is occurring in the community of North America, even though the establishment media tries to mislead them.

Not only are they aware, but they have decided in the true spirit of Intercommunalism to speed up the process of having our communities no longer existing as dispersed communities under seige but to form one world liberated community.

Their first move in this direction is their realization of the importance of the Vanguard of the American Revolution, the Black Panther Party, and therefore understanding the importance of saving Chairman Bobby Seale from the electric chair.

March 5th, 1971, has been declared Intercommunal Solidarity Day for Chairman Bobby Seale. Demonstrations and manifestations will be held in Germany, England, Belgium, Italy, France, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands. In those communities where the people are engaged in active warfare their support will be in different forms.

American imperialism no longer has anywhere to run or anywhere to hide. Its true aggressive, vulturistic and barbaric nature has become known to everyone on the planet earth, whether they be in liberated communities or communities under seige.

It is for us here, where the seed of oppression was planted, until it grew into a tree and blossomed with branches stretching from one end of the globe to the other, to grasp the tree by the roots and destroy it. It is our duty to all humanity, it is our duty to ourselves.

The farcical trial that exists in New Haven, Connecticut, where Chairman Bobby Seale and Sister Ericka Huggins are being tried for murder must not be allowed to continue.

If the rest of the communities of the world can recognize their responsibility why can't we here do the same. The Black Panther Party says Chairman Bobby Seale and Sister Ericka Huggins will not go to the electric chair. They will and must be freed to take their rightful place in the community where they belong. However we need the support of the masses of the people. You are also on trial for your lives, your children's future, the future of all mankind. This great humanity has said enough.

FREE BOBBY AND ERICKA NOW!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Connie Matthews Tabor

## BOBBY SEALE AWARDED DANISH HIGH SCHOOL PEACE PRIZE

The Danish High School Association an organization of 32,000 students elected Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party to receive their Peace Prize for 1970. The reasons given for having chosen Chairman Bobby were both political and humanistic. Having seen and heard Chairman Bobby Seale in Denmark, the Danish students had an opportunity to learn something of the oppression, exploitation, racism and fascism that exist in the U.S.A.

The following are excerpts from their declaration:

"By demanding the release of the political prisoner, Bobby Seale, we refuse to accept the way the so-called democratic governments treat the minorities whose right it is to fight for freedom, and whose lives are supposedly guaranteed by independence declarations and constitutions.

"Bobby Seale is elected because his situation is typical of one who lives in a country whose constitution is supposedly ideal for all societies in the "free world". He is an example of all peoples fighting for their rights and a decent life....We fully endorse "Free Bobby". The money given with this prize should be used by Bobby as he sees fit. We look uponhis trial as a showcourt and realize that it is impossible for him to receive a fair trial.

We intend to ask the Danish-T.V. in the U.S.A. to keep us informed with up to date information on this case.

All Political Prisoners Must Be Freed!
BOBBY SEALE MUST BE FREED!

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE IN DENMARK DEMAND THE RELEASE OF CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

On January 9th, 175 Danish politicians, intellectuals, Chairmen of Labor Unions, doctors, journalists, students, actors, actresses and priests, launched a "Free Bobby Seale" campaign in Denmark.

The object of this campaign isn't only to show the Danish people that Chairman Bobby is a victim of political persecution and must be freed, but also to raise funds to assist in his legal defense. Each person signing the petition is required to contribute a minimum amount of money.

Right on to our Danish Comrades!

## CREATION OF THE BOBBY SEALE INTERCOMMUNAL TRIBUNAL AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, FASCISM AND RACISM

Preparations have started for the organizing of the Bobby Seale Intercommunal Tribunal which will be held in Stockholm, Sweden in the latter part of March. The exact date will be announced in the near future.

The primary reason for this tribunal will be to expose to the world the U.S. government's attempt to legally murder Chairman Bobby Seale. At the same time testimonies against American barbaric and criminal activities throughout the world will be heard.

Writers, scientists, attorneys of political prisoners in Europe, in particular Spain, Greece, Portugal, France and Italy will take part.

Representatives from liberation fronts of the oppressed communities of the world will also testify against the direct or indirect effect of American imperialism on their just struggles for liberation.

American imperialism will be exposed for what it is - the No. 1 oppressor of all mankind on the planet earth.

A.

*LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERCOMMUNALISM AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.*



B.



# LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERCOMMUNALISM AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

*THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, HUEY P. NEWTON'S MESSAGE AT BOSTON COLLEGE - NOVEMBER 18, 1970*

*Power to the people, brothers and sisters. I would like to thank you for my presence here tonight because you are responsible. I would be in a maximum security penitentiary if it weren't for the power of the people. So you're responsible, and only you.*

*I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman, for Ericka Huggins for Angela Davis, for the New York 21 and the Soledad Brothers. For all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Free the people. The 28th and 29th of November we will have a People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come. Because, after all, the people are the makers of world history. The people are responsible for everything. So how can we have a convention if we have no people? Some people think that we can have a people's convention without the people being there. I think that, that was the case in 1777.*

*Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary to institute a Ten-point Program. A Ten Point Program that is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. It's a survival program. We feel that we, the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant. Not only in this country, but throughout the world. And the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation. But until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive, so, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten-Point Program is a survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words, it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy, with minds that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have community health programs. We have a bussing program. We call it the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners. Because we realize that the fascist regime who operate the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and the parents and friends to the prisons, they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So this too is a survival program.*

*We must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here, then, of course, revolution cannot be achieved because the people make revolution. The people make revolution and only the people. The theme of our People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At our convention, we will present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit, or perhaps the kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. And you'll need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few protein tablets in order to last until you can get to the shore, until you can get to that oasis where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then possibly you will not exist. At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. Matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality and murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because a reactionary set of conditions will cause his death. I repeat, if we do nothing we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing we are accepting the situation. The situation is a condition of reaction, so, therefore, a reaction will cause our death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw.*

*Yes, because we feel that where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that we can change all of the conditions and that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary enthusiasm and it is the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee a victory. We say that if we must die, then we will die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The revolutionary suicide that says that if I am put down, if I am driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I would much rather be driven out with a stick, because with the broom, when I am driven out, it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with the stick, then at least I can remain with the dignity of a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the death of a dog. Of course, our real desire is to live, but we will not be cowed, we will not be intimidated.*

*I would like to explain to you the method that the Black Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position, and, also more than that, I would like to give to you a framework or a process of thinking that might help us solve the problems and the contradictions that exist today. Today the world is very complicated. There are many things in operation at the same time. It reminds me of a little saying, "When I was a boy, what was so was so, what was not was not. Now I am a man, things have changed a lot. Some things nearly so, others, not. It is a puzzlement". How do we solve this? We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on, really what is going on divorced from our attitudes and emotions that we usually project into a situation. In other words, we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma; we will let the facts speak for themselves. But we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to good use to serve our interests. So we will become subjective when we apply the knowledge that we received from the external world using the scientific method. But at that time, we will admit that we will be subjective,*

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C.

# LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERCOMMUNALISM AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



*because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrating theory with practice. And this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.*

*Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us revisionists, they call us hoodlums. They call us everything but the child of man. But tonight we will answer those people. And I would hope that all of them have a front seat because I would like to have a dialectical argument with them.*

*You know, in order to understand a group of forces operating at the same time, science developed what is called a discipline. One of the characteristics or properties of this discipline is, first, to be disinterested. Not to be disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem, but disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not promote an outcome, you just want to know the facts. The other thing is that science starts off with a basic premise that is very important. And from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with a belief because it is very important. And because it is very difficult to test your first premise. But after we agree or stipulate a first premise we then can have an intelligent argument because then we would just require each other to be consistent down to a valid conclusion. So tonight I would ask you to stipulate that an external world exists. An external world exists independently of us, in spite of whether we are around or not. In other words, the external world is a reality. The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change, or transformation, rather. In other words, flux, flux, all is flux. After we agree to that, we can go on with our discussion.*

*You know, the scientific method relies heavily on a concept they call empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future, it only tells you about the past. In other words, it can only tell you about what you gained through observation and experience and that is always past tense. So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant called his process of reasoning pure reason, because Kant's reasoning did not depend on the external world. It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon dealing with symbols in such a way where you manipulated them to come up with a conclusion based upon reason. For example, "If the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, I will see the sky". There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the existence of the sky. I said "if." And that is why with rationale we do not have to depend upon the external world. With empiricism we can tell very little about the future. So what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and he came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after we integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking, not only are we in touch with that world outside us, but we can also explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of the phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict, attempting to reach some harmony.*

*You know also, that Marx, as a social scientist, criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena, or part of phenomena, by taking it out of its environment, isolating it and putting it into a category, and not letting anyone know about the fact that once he took it out of its environment, once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words with a discipline such as sociology where we would study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that is connected to the group, we would get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.*

*In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think that they say that when atoms collide, that they divide into electrons, protons and nutrons, if I remember correctly. What happened to the atom? It was transformed. In the social world the same thing happens, or a similar thing. We can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two cultures collide a process occurs or a condition occurs which I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of contact. Well Marx called the social forces, when the social forces collided, or classes, he called that a contradiction. In the physical world, when physical forces collide sometimes we call it just that, a collision. For example, when two cars meet head on, trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed. Sometimes other things happen. Matter of fact, had those two cars been turned back to back and sped off in opposite directions, they would not be having a contradiction, they would be contrary, covering different spaces at different times. Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other. We miss each other because, in the first place, we think we're having a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example, I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red, and we would argue all day thinking we're having a contradiction when actually we're being contrary. When people argue, when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction, and we hope that if we argue long enough, provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope that we can have some kind of synthesis. And tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.*

*I think that the mistake is either that some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact, in spite of their claim to scholarly research and in spite of their claim that they follow the discipline of dialectical materialism. They fail to search deeper, like the scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I'll explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party because we follow the dialectical method and we also integrate theory with practice. What we are not -We are not mechanical Marxists and we're not historical materialists. Some*

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D. E.

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*people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to the past. They're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that edges upon dogma, and what we sometimes call, flunkeyism.*

*Marx attempted to set up a framework. Just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain phenomena, and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions, then you try to move on and apply that framework to other things, or those principles. And you're not afraid of the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective. Because you realize the method that you're using, if you're using the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it the last time, because then that's history. And if things are in a constant state of transformation, we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, words that we used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe events past then we might confuse people. They might think that things are static and therefore contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.*

*In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and it was called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party". In that work, Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletarians in this country at this time, or the industrial worker, does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpen-proletarians, carry that revolutionary potential and in fact would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society, and, therefore, will act as the vanguard. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor Party that it is impossible. How can the lumpen-proletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority? And in fact how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out a successful social revolution? I would agree that it is necessary for the people who carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people, I would agree to that. In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that the lumpen proletarians are actually the minority in this country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. It only goes to show that what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes we think a thing is really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So what we will do is tear this thing apart; we will analyze it. In the Soviet Union, in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them proletarians. Lenin, using Marx's theory, saw the trend because he was not a historical materialist, he was a dialectical materialist, and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline. That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution.*

*In this country, the Black Panther Party taking careful note of the dialectical method, taking careful note of the social trends and the ever changing nature of things, see that while the lumpen proletarians are the minority and the proletarians, the majority, we also see that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we'll start with automation, go to cybernation, and then go from there probably into technocracy. As I came into town I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they would go on developing their technological machinery. They would go on developing their technological machinery because at the capitalist's hands and the ruling circle's hands, they're not interested in the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always followed. That is to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible, unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because the trend is that technology is making leaps, (It made a leap all the way to the moon.) and if the ruling circle remains in power, the proletarian worker, the proletarian working class, will definitely be on the decline, because they will be unemployables and, therefore, swell the ranks of the Lumpens, who are unemployables. Unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle. And this is why we say that the lumpen-proletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and in fact will probably carry out the revolution and, in the near future, will be [illegible] class, the majority. Of course, I would not like to see all of my people unemployed or unemployables. But, being objective, because we're objective, because we're dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts and that's all we've done.*

*You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly he said society goes from a slave class to a feudalistic class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure, and finally to Communism. Or in other words, from capitalist state to socialist state to non-state, Communism. I think we can all agree, and I would ask for a stipulation, that the slave class in the world has virtually been transformed into the wage slave. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force, and if we could agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence. If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear, but just be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the proletarian or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course the people would not disappear, they would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle would not need him, and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production, then he will be called an unemployable or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical, I think that's dialectical. I think it would be very strange to say only the slave class could disappear.*

*You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said this. He said, "One thing I'm not: I'm not a Marxist". In other words, he was trying to warn, he was trying to tell Progressive Labor Party and others not to accept the past as the present or the future, but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want.*

*After taking those things under consideration, we see that as time changes and as the world is transformed, that we need some new definitions to the situation. Because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will have a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world is static. I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact, they looked at toil, working for other necessities, as somewhat of a curse. And Lenin's whole theory after he put Marx's analysis into practice, was geared to get rid of the proletarians. In other words, that by the proletarian class or the working class seizing the means of production, they would plan in such a way so that they would be free from toil. As a matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains. It sounds to me like he saw a proletarian working class transformed so that they could have that free block of time, so that they could indulge in productive creativity, so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation, so that they could have the happiness, the freedom and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.*

*At this time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this, and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile. So I'm saying that in spite of the criticism that we've received from certain people, we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same. That is because people would not disappear, not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, therefore, the Black Panther Party says it's perfectly correct to organize the proletarians because after he's kicked out of the factory, because he'll be called unemployable or lumpen, doesn't stop or transform his interest which is to live, and in order to live he has to eat. So his best interest is to seize the machinery that he has produced so that he can produce the abundance so he and his bretheren can live. Now, I'm saying, that we will not wait until the proletarian becomes the lumpenproletarian to educate him. Today we must lift the consciousness of the people so that we can get a clear picture of what is to be done. We need to know that, because the wind is rising and the rivers flow, times are getting hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to our mother's womb, nor can we go back to 1917.*

*As the United States, or what I like to call North America, was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire, (because an empire is a nation transformed) it caused a total change in the world, because no part of a thing interrelated can change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States, or North America, became an empire it changed the whole composition, and the whole phenomena in the world. There were other nations in the world. But empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire, or the imperialist, controls all other nations. Now some time ago in history there existed a phenomena we called, well I call, primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world. But in fact they did not know all of the world, so therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land. In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or affect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also see that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing, it might crush other things or even itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of the negation. Meaning, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a socialist society to have some centralization of the wealth, we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth, we would have to have some harmony between the people.*

*First I will roughly give you some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. These are economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety.*

*In 1966, we called ourselves, that is, the Party, a Black nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we found that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free--and this is what we really want, to be free--we thought the nation would make us free--we saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and, therefore, we had to unite with the peoples of the world, so we called ourselves Internationalists. We sought solidarity with the peoples of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything's in a constant state of transformation and that because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, that nationhood did not exist, because they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Because their self-determination was destroyed, because their economic determination was destroyed, because their cultural determination was transformed--and I would like for you to strike "destroyed", I would like for you to put in "transformed". Excuse me--all of the nations were trans-*

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*formed at the hands of the imperialist and the ruling circle in the interests of the imperialists. So we found that in order to be an internationalist, we had to be also a nationalist, or at least acknowledge nationhood. So all internationalists are also nationalists, because, if I understand that word, "inter" means some inter-relationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now if no nation is in existence and in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact we will try to shed light upon it, and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena, and we will call ourselves "Intercommunalists". Because nations have been transformed into communities of the world.*

*So tonight, the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim Internationalism and support Intercommunalism. We have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information that they had, that when non-state finally came to be a reality, it would be caused, or ushered in by the people and by Communism. A strange thing happened. The ruling reactionary circle through the process of being an imperialist, transformed the world into what we call reactionary intercommunalism. They laid seige upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by the institutions in their land. The Black Panther Party would like to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of Revolutionary Intercommunalism. This would be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world.*

*We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens, even culturally to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a Black community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa, a Black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference.*

*So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished, but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions which serve the people who live there. It differs from a nation, because a community evolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state and the state has certain control over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time, so there's still something to be done. I spoke earlier about the negation of the negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also I would say, socialism cannot at this time exist any place in the world. Because socialism would require a socialist state, and if state does not exist how could socialism exist? So how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we describe certain progressive countries, or communities as we call them, as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? How do we define certain communities as North Vietnam and the Provisional Government in the South? How do we explain these communities, if in fact they too cannot claim nationhood. We say this: we say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. But that community is not sufficient, it is not satisfied, just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground for preparation for the liberation of the world, seizing of the wealth from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved.*

*I stated that in the United States socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States, you would have to have a redistribution of wealth not on a national level, but an international level, not on an international level, but on an intercommunal level, and this is because how can we say that we have accomplished revolution and redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America when the ruling circle itself is guilty of trespass de bonas as per tadas. That is, they've taken away the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America, and used them as their very own. That is a tort.*

*Now remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. Now, if you have to think in terms of planning an economy on a world wide level, on an Intercommunal level, that says something. That says that the people have been ripped off and it's very much like the people in one country being ripped off. And when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this: we say reparation will not even serve because the people have not only been robbed of their raw materials, their raw materials have also been invested, their raw materials have been made into a technological machine--the people are responsible for that--so the people of the world will have to have control of that, not for X amount of time, not for a limited amount, but it's theirs. So all I can see in order to plan a real Intercommunal economy is that we will have to acknowledge how the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that some time ago, nations could exist because technology had not advanced to the level it is now.*

*Some people will argue that nations still exist because of the cultural differences. By way of definition, just for practical argument, culture is a collection, or learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States, Black people, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here, and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms, but by and large you can see the transformation. This was achieved through a long stay, but also through the high technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. We see that*

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G.

*the ruling circle has also launched satelites in order to put the beam across the world to indoctrinate the world. We see that while there might be what we call cultural differences, the difference is not a qualitative difference but a quantitative difference. In other words, that if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are going on now, that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt Western values. I think Japan is a good example. And the difference between people in fact are getting very small. But again it's in the interest of the ruling circle. I don't believe that history can be backtracked, you see. So if the world is really that interconnected, then we would have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free, then they would control the institutions of their community and also have some form of representation in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States will have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, first return what they have stolen. So I don't see where we could talk about socialism when we're talking about world distribution. I think this is what Marx talked about when he talked about non-state.*

*I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago. And he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa. But he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much. But when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something to his ear that he cherished. That was a small transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting network. So, what I'm trying to say is that the mass media, plus the development of transportation makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities, as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get from San Francisco to here? It only takes ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars, they call them "police actions". They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are rioting. What I'm saying is that the ruling circle accept and realize what they have done. They know that it's one world, but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know because a short time ago, in Detroit, a community was under seige, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid seige on that community and that house and they used the weapons, the same weapons they use in Vietnam, matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens. We see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools. And they're there for the same purpose, that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. We say that it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where the power is. We want the power for the people.*

*I said earlier, and I strayed away, that the theory of the negation of the negation is very valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the resistance always seek the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective society. And some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical Marxism, or historical materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism, develop a capitalistic base, and finally go into socialism? They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the Black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism, the Black community in Oakland or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism, because the imperialists have already pre-empted the field, he has already centralized the wealth. So therefore, in order to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community, and then move on him as a collective force.*

*You know, we've had long arguments with people. We used to call ourselves before we became conscious, a dispersed collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, and they told me how can you possibly be a colony? In order to be a colony, you have to have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities. And because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight I would like to accept the criticism and say that you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as the African people represent a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities--a dispersed collection of communities. Because they have no superstructure. Or they do have a superstructure--the superstructure of the industrial base that they labor to produce was all put on Wall Street. And we would all agree that once a particular people, centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base, we won't find it in every single community, because every single community would not have the resources because it's already been centralized. This is a distorted form of collectivity. Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So after the things have been collected, then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off? And this*



*is why the Black Panther Party denounces Black capitalism and say that all we can do is liberate our community, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the peoples of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away, because we know that in sociology we say that when transformation takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with Revolutionary Intercommunalism until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought, until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking, and until such time that people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil, until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is 'essentially human', that will serve the people instead of serve some god. You see, it will be necessary to do that because we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of the changing set of conditions. So because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.*

*So tonight, I think I've covered some of what I had to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that, I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, asked me to petition you, to ask you to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. And also I would like to thank the peoples of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberated communities, in their liberated territory. So, they've actually set the example for us, we know what we have to do in order to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities.*

H.

LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER
OF INTERCOMMUNALISM
AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF
HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



# ON THE CASE OF ANGELA DAVIS

## By ELDRIDGE CLEAVER



Eldridge Cleaver and Angela Davis

*On August 7, 1970, a young black revolutionary named Jonathan Jackson walked into a courtroom in Marin County, in the State of California, U.S.A., and took control of the courtroom with arms in hand. From beneath his coat, he produced other weapons which he gave to three other young black men who had been brought from San Quentin State Prison to face charges of stabbing a prison guard. These three black men, James McClain, William Christmas, and Ruchell McGee, were in prison for shooting an Oakland, California policeman.*

*All four of these comrades were revolutionaries who had dedicated their lives to the struggle for the liberation of their people from the system of oppression known as the U.S.A.*

*Three of them, Jackson, McClain, and Christmas were killed outside the courtroom in a gun battle with policemen and prison guards who moved to block the escape. The judge was also killed in the shooting, and the Prosecuting Attorney was wounded.*

*A few days later, the authorities issued an arrest warrant for Angela Davis, charging that she had purchased one of the guns used by these comrades in this heroic and revolutionary attempt to liberate themselves from the clutches of the fascist injustice given by the courts of the U.S.A. to black people.*

*We mention the above facts first, and we wish to emphasize them again and again, because this act of revolutionary violence is what gave rise to the case of Angela Davis, and it is this act of revolutionary violence which black people, oppressed inside the U.S.A., need the people of the world to defend and support, because it is only through such actions that we can take our freedom and liberation from the fascist, imperialist system of oppression of the U.S.A.*

*When looking at the case of Angela Davis, if we begin by focusing on the act of revolutionary violence, we can see clearly how the U.S. fascists, with the active collusion of the U.S. Communist Party, have turned the case of Angela Davis into a smokescreen to obscure the real issues involved. The case of Angela Davis is a tool in the hands of the reactionary forces in the world who deny the right of the people to take up arms in their struggle for liberation from oppression. The case of Angela Davis is being used by reactionary forces to conceal the trial of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, who is on trial for his life in New Haven, Connecticut. The fascists have charged Chairman Bobby Seale with ordering the execution of a police informer.*

*It is for this reason that we must be on our guard against such piggish manoeuvers as the exchange of observers between the Soviet Union and the U.S. fascist imperialists. It must be noted that both of these countries have been charged by their people with judicial injustice. And the Black Panther Party takes note of the fact that the Soviet Union has seen fit to denounce and slander our Party in its press.*

*And now we see the entire propaganda apparatus of the U.S. fascists, and the propaganda apparatuses of all of its friends around the world, going into hysteria over the sweet case of Angela Davis. This is nothing more nor less than a calculated tactic by reactionary forces to hide from the eyes and ears of the world the case of Bobby Seale, because it is in the case of Bobby Seale that the struggle of black people for liberation from U.S. oppression is on trial.*

*The Black Panther Party appeals to the people of the world to look through the smokescreen thrown up by the case of Angela Davis, and see the case of Bobby Seale. It is only by taking such a look that the true issues involved can be understood.*

*ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE*

*Eldridge Cleaver*
*Minister of Information*
*Black Panther Party*
*Intercommunal Section*
*Algiers, Algeria*

# LOS SIETE



After 18 months of imprisonment and 5 months of trial, Los Siete de La Raza were acquitted in San Francisco of the absurd murder charge put on them because they had been doing political work and organizing in the Mission District. Immediately after their acquittal, pigs from San Mateo County slapped charges of auto theft and burglary on them.

The brothers were persecuted because of their political work but their trial has served to unite people from the Mission in a growing political consciousness and programs that serve the people. Pig repression has failed.

We must show the pigs that we the people, continue to support the struggles of Los Siete, and all political prisoners. Come to the rally on January 25th at 8:30 A.M. when Los Siete go before the court to demand that the charges against them be dropped. Rally in front of the San Mateo County Courthouse on Broadway in Redwood City.



# SLUMLORD LEWIS MUST BE REMOVED

Mrs. Sue Chenault and her five children of 305 W. 65th St., Los Angeles, Cal., were unmercifully robbed of already substandard housing the first of this month. Mr. John D. Lewis – a black avaricious slumlord – ripped off the doors and windows from the home of the Chenaults, leaving them unprotected to the cold, wind and rain. When asked by Mrs. Chenault to justify or present some reason for these barbaric actions, he was at a loss for words.

Mrs. Chenault refusal to comply to an immediate eviction notice resulted in the family's having to endure the hardship of the cold weather. Aside from freezing, the Chenaults have been constantly plaqued by the deplorable living conditions, . . . . such as the faulty construction, plaster falling from the ceilings and walls, irreparable and corroded water pipes. The slumlord attempted to provide hot water to their apartment from his business, a cleaners on the corner of 65th and Broadway which is next door to the Chenaults. Mrs. Chenault's home fills with steam instead of needed hot water.

Over a month ago Mrs. Chenault confronted Mr. Lewis with degrading living conditions her family was forced to endure. Concerned with her family's well being she asked him to check her home so the neccessary repairs could be made. He agreed, and she proceeded to show him the unhealthy state of the apartment. After checking the house, Lewis said in a sarcastic tone, "there's nothing I can do." He went on to suggest that she call the health department.

Mrs. Chenault called the health department. The health department responded, and told her, in so many words, not to pay her rent until the necessary repairs were made, giving the slumlord thirty days to comply. The reactionary Mr. Lewis responded with a phony eviction notice. This action on his part was unsuccessful, so he finally promised to repair the house.

Mrs. Chenault left her home for a few hours to allow the repairs to be done. It was during this period without interference that pig Lewis tore down the doors and windows. When Mrs. Chenault returned and saw the piggish actions Mr. Lewis had taken, she was surprised.

She then boarded up the doors and windows to provide some form of protection for her family.

On Saturday, January 9th, slumlord Lewis stormed into her home without knocking, demanding her apartment and three others in the building. The other tenants like the Chenaults, are victims of similar living conditions.

John D. Lewis plays a dual role of oppression in our community. Besides being a merciless slumlord, with no regard for human life or comfort, he also owns two cleaners in the south Los Angeles area (the Black community) and one the Compton, Calif. His greed is even obvious there, as his charges are high, creating a hardship for his patrons.

The only reply to John D. Lewis and other aspiring petty yankees like him is the presentation of a serious threat to his means of profit by the community in a unified effort to remove his own particular stigma of oppression from our community.

We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Southern California Chapter
Black Panther Party

# ORGANIZING SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS



CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

## By D.C., Field Marshal, Black Panther Party

*KNOW THE ENEMY*

*At this time the pigs have three things going for themselves:*
*COMMUNICATIONS---C*
*MOBILITY-----------M*
*INFORMATION-------I*
*C.M.I.*

*(C) With the technological advances of today in Babylon, the pig forces have been able to really uptight their communication. They have radios, telephones, radio-telephones, and now they even have computers in their patrol cars. Foot patrolmen also carry small compact two-way radios. The occupying forces in our communities have more or less instant communication. Therefore it is possible to alert the total pig force in any major city in a matter of seconds.*

*(M) Since the major rebellions began in 1965 with WATTS, pig forces have adopted the technique of saturating "high crime areas" (BLACK COMMUNITIES) with many patrol cars AND personnel carriers. Also most major cities now employ helicopters. With the development of the campus struggle, they have also increased their patrols of campus communities such as in the Berkeley, California area around the University of California. Their technical ability to communicate and their technique of having patrol cars only a few blocks apart provides them with good mobility. When an alert or distress signal is received, the pigs are able to saturate the "trouble area" within 30 seconds to 1 minute in every major city in Babylon.*

*(I) The pigs use many methods for gathering information such as the method of infiltrating, using undercover agents. Many merchants who operate in our communities act as informants. Also taxi cab drivers must be watched carefully. Many cities now have policemen posing as cab drivers. In cities like New York they even have policemen posing as garbage men, telephone repairmen, gas and light men, etc. Also, one method the pigs have used successfully is to harass known prostitutes, dope addicts, etc., and threaten to lock these people up if they don't give them the information they want. Too many times they have been successful using this method. The pigs have also perfected some techniques for asking questions. Many people who don't relate to pigs, when questioned by them, try to be smart and witty and unknowingly give the pigs precisely the information they are looking for. So the rule to follow when arrested or questioned by pigs is GIVE YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS...PERIOD. This is all that you have to do. Don't say anything else and don't sign anything. A guerrilla unit has successfully carried out an operation and the pigs have no clues, their method of investigation is jacking up the community and asking questions. They seek information. They get bits and pieces here and there and sometimes they are able to piece together enough information to make a bust. SO...KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT!*

*COMBATTING C.M.I.*

*To answer the question of how do we combat the pigs C.M.I., we must first see what we have going for ourselves. We should relate to the principle of self-reliance; in other words, USE WHAT YOU GOT TO GET WHAT YOU NEED. In checking out the practice of guerrilla units we see that we have the power to determine what is going to happen, when it is to happen, and how it is supposed to go down. WHAT-WHEN-HOW: the element of surprise. The pigs have C.M.I. and guerrilla units have W.W.H.*

*To consider a guerrilla operation successful is not just to plan and execute, but to plan, execute, and escape. There have been too many instances when members of guerrilla units have planned and executed righteous blows against the system, only to be captured, wounded, or killed. These are the consequences for revolutionary activity; however, we must keep casualties within an acceptable minimum. The slogan must be: MAXIMUM DAMAGE TO THE ENEMY-MINIMUM DAMAGE TO US. Practice has shown that when planning W.W.H., if it is done with a knowledge and an understanding of C.M.I., casualties will be kept within an acceptable minimum. Too often much attention is given to a plan up to the point of execution without giving the same attention to evasion and escape.*

*This is a one-sided approach, a subjective approach. W.W.H. is only one side of the coin; C.M.I. is the other side. Evasion and escape is the phase of an operation that determines success. Because guerrilla units use W.W.H., the pigs' C.M.I does not go into operation until a guerrilla unit actually commits itself by executing some type of guerrilla activity. As I mentioned earlier, once C.M.I. is activitated, pigs start arriving on the set 30 seconds to 1 minute in every major city in Babylon. Therefore, the success or failure of a guerrilla operation is dependent upon the attention given to C.M.I. and the planning of the evasion and escape. As I see it, learning to deal with C.M.I. is the number one military problem facing revolutionary forces in Babylon today.*

*TO BE CONTINUED*

# ON THE PURGE OF GERONIMO FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



*Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G"*

*The Black Panther Party is informing all Chapters, Branches, N.C.C.F.'s and the mass of People that we are purging from our ranks Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G".*

*In addition to committing flagrant violations of our Party's principles, this man ultimately showed that although he claimed allegiance and devotion to the struggle of the People from oppression and to the Black Panther Party, his devotion and allegiance was still to the ways and rules of the Pig Power Structure. When he left the Marine Corps' Special Forces (having trained Green Berets), the armed agency of the CIA, he joined the Black Panther Party. But he has proven beyond a doubt that he is as dedicated today to that Pig Agency as he was when he was in Vietnam, killing innocent Vietnamese women and children on various "search and destroy" missions.*

*It is certain that we were under an illusion that he had switched allegiances, for his lies (which he admitted he had been trained to tell) were extremely convincing. For the Black Panther Party did everything in our power to allow this man - who can no longer be considered such, for he lacks human compassion and understanding - to remain free from the vicious clutches of the pigs. As a result of our efforts, this jackanape informed the Central Committee of our Party of certain demands he had - namely money. He advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that they were armed and that if his demands were not met, he would "move on" (assassinate) our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. This nape further stated that he in fact didn't like the manner in which the Chief of Staff conducted himself or the Party's business, and that he felt he needed to be removed anyway. He also mentioned that once his forces were together, he would also "get rid of" (assassinate) our Assistant Chief of Staff, June Hilliard.*

*But, the most disgraceful, counter-revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly that if the Party would not go along with his ideas, he would assassinate the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton.*

*As if this were not sufficient, he used money he had obtained through and in the name of the Party to purchase alcohol and narcotics for the purpose of indulging himself and his stupid cohorts in nightly bourgeois, orgiastic revelry. (Without the direct eye of the Party's leadership, he maintained a personally pleasure-seeking life.)*

*During this period - that is, prior to the arrests in Dallas, Texas on last December 8th and after he left his obvious Party tasks to avoid capture by the pigs - during this period, Geronimo 1) violated many young Black sisters he met while moving from town to town, forcing them to submit to himself and the other fools; 2) left a wide trail for the pigs to follow, thereby, exposing the Party to the pigs, by letting most of the people he met know he was a member of the Black Panther Party; 3) harassed and intimidated many of the people with whom he came into contact, by demanding their aid under the threat of their lives; 4) purchased "Christmas" presents ("Christmas" being the high holiday of the pig capitalists, particularly the avaricious businessmen; and, the period during which the masses of People are exploited in the highest.), to send to his and the others' families and friends. In addition to the counter-revolutionary nature of this particular act, he would have provided additional exposure of their location - which was to have been clandestine (secret).*

*Finally, Geronimo and the others who are hereby purged - Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday, and George Lloyd - attempted to organize other renegades from our Party and themselves into a counter-revolutionary, little rebel roving band, certainly not adhering to the Party's principles or orders, but also violating the masses of People themselves. They are like snakes who crawled into a baby's crib. And we expel them from our ranks, as we would such snakes. We have no word of good to say for them and have faith that the People will someday let these pigs like all other burn in the Fires of Reaction.*

*Let it be known, then, that Geronimo (Elmer Gerard Pratt), his wife Sandra Lane Pratt or Sandra Holmes or "Red" (who worked in concert with him), Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch Holiday and George Lloyd are forever purged and expelled from the Black Panther Party. Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party.*

*ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE*

*Huey P. Newton*

*HUEY P. NEWTON*
*SUPREME COMMANDER AND MINISTER OF DEFENSE*
*BLACK PANTHER PARTY*




# ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUEBLO AFFAIR

January 23 marks the third anniversary of the capture of the USS Pueblo, an American spy ship which had penetrated the waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

American intentions and interference have escalated against the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since this date instead of diminishing. It is a known fact that troops being withdrawn from Vietnam are sent to Japan in preparation for full scale war against the Korean people.

As peace loving as the Korean people are they will not allow themselves to be subjected to the slaughter of the U.S. imperialist aggressors once again. In a true sprit of Intercommunalism we are reprinting the facts as they occurred on January 23, 1968 when the Koreans captured the Pueblo.

We pledge our full support to the Korean peoples in their just struggle for re-unification of their community and are confident that once again they will reduce the imperialist aggressors to their knees under the heroic leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the respected leader of the 40 million Korean people.

LONG LIVE COMRADE KIM IL SUNG!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Connie Tabor

## THE PUEBLO AFFAIR AS TOLD BY ITS CAPTORS TO MICHAEL EISENSCHER

Reprinted from PEOPLE'S WORLD

The two young seamen introduced themselves as Junior Captain Pak In Ho and Master Sergeant Ho Hyong Gun. They were the two men in charge of the seven-man boarding party of the patrol boat that captured the USS Pueblo on January 23, 1968, outside the harbor of Wonsan.

The capture of the Pueblo had kicked off a furor in the United States. Jingoist accusations of "piracy" were thrown at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Threats of retaliation were made, and the money-controlled mass communications media joined the Johnson Administration in trying to whip up hysteria against socialist Korea.

Upon their release from captivity, the Pueblo's Captain Lloyd Bucher and other members of the crew claimed the Pueblo was captured only because the Koreans mustered overwhelming force against it.

We decided to investigate the Pueblo case during our visit to the DPRK. At our request, the two seamen answered questions during a three-hour interview. We learned that the entire crew of the Korean patrol boat numbered only ten men, that all were very young and had lost kin during the Korean War of 1950-1953. Junior Captain Pak was 29 at the time of the Pueblo's capture, and was the oldest of the boarding party. Master Sergeant Ho was 24.

Junior Captain Pak answered our questions first.



U.S. imperialist aggressors from spy ship which had penetrated the waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

QUESTION: Before sighting the Pueblo, were you on a routine patrol or did you suspect an encounter?

ANSWER: Our patrol boat's mission is to make routine patrols in defense of our territorial waters. On January 23, last year, we were on our regular routine patrol mission. We had left base three days before, and on Jan.23 at 11:00 A.M. we sighted a spot on the seas, 7.6 miles from HoDo Island, at a point in line with our coastline. We approached the spot and found it to be a big ship, but it had no signs to give its national identity. According to international law, all ships must have identification on their mast or hull. It had no identification marks.

We demanded identification but it was refused.. we continued signals demanding identification. We did not recognize it was an American ship. Finally it hoisted a flag showing it was a navigational survey ship.

QUESTION: How far from the Pueblo were you at this point?

ANSWER: Three miles away. We continued signals demanding national identity, this time very strongly. Only then did they hoist the U.S. flag.

QUESTION: Before taking action did you notify your headquarters and request assistance?

ANSWER: Yes

QUESTION: Were any other Korean ships or planes accompanying you?

ANSWER: When we sighted that spot and started to approach, there was not a single ship of our country, not even a fishing boat, in the area because of bad weather. We dispatched a request for assistance, but the other ships came only after we had captured the Pueblo and were taking it into port. Air support arrived also after the capture.

QUESTION: What was the highest ranking officer on your vessel and the total number of men in the crew?

ANSWER: I was second in command and there was a captain of the same rank as mine. Including officers, ten men were on board.

QUESTION: How was the patrol boat armed?

ANSWER: There were light arms., two to three guns and small arms. It would have been most difficult to destroy the Pueblo siglehandedly.

QUESTION: What action did you take?

ANSWER: Our ship approached the Pueblo to the point from which we could see movement of men on board. Then the enemy ship started to run for international waters and opened fire against our ship with machine guns. We were forced to fire in counterattack. Our first shot hit the Pueblo and we could see smoke rising. We continued to fire and four other shells hit the Pueblo. Then firing stopped...

After climbing aboard I found that four of our shells had hit the munition store of the Pueblo.. Three of the shells had pierced the walls of that store, but one had exploded inside of it. One of the crewmen was killed, three wounded by the exploding shell. Another shell had hit the ship's bridge. All the officers had been frightened and run from the bridge to the deck.

Only Captain Bucher was lying in the bridge. I rushed there, and wanted to know who he was. Because he had taken off his uniform and was in his underwear. Five of us had gone to the command post, but none of us could speak English. We picked up Bucher, who was only pretending to be hurt, and by sign language and drawing pictures on paper we found out he was number one of the ship and that there were 83 men in the crew. Our boarding party numbered seven.

Using pictues and shoving a loudspeaker microphone at Bucher, I ordered him to get all his men on deck. Bucher was frightened and did what I indicated and said something in English. I sent my men into different compartments of the ship to search, and we tied up the crewmen and lined them up on the deck.

We found pistols, cartridge boxes and grenades in the command post, so I knew the ship was armed, and thought that we must occupy the munition store. We drew another picture, and Bucher took us to the arms store. When we opened the door, we saw many small arms, bullets, and four kinds of grenades. As soon as Captain Bucher saw the wounded men, he got frightened and pretended to faint, but when we pointed a rifle at him, he stood right up. We had agreed not to fire our guns on board the ship because our men in different parts of the ship would be confused.

After seizing the munition store we had to take the engine room in order to pilot the ship to the base, so I took Bucher with me to the engine room. I found three men there: one engineer and two crew men. I assigned one of my men in the engine room and examined the room to make preparations to start the engines. We succeeded in starting the engines.

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**FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY—INTERCOMMUNAL SECTION, ALGIERS, ALGERIA**

# *THE TRUE COLORS OF TRAITOR, PAK JUNG HI, FILTHY DOG OF U.S. IMPERIALISM*

Traitor Pak Jung Hi, the filthy dog of U.S. imperialism, is a dirty human dreg who has committed the traitorous acts for his own riches, honour and luxury.

This is clear from the dirty record of criminal acts that he has perpetrated up to date since the pre-August 15 liberation days.

-Under Japanese Imperialist Rule-

Arch traitor Pak Jung Hi is the youngest son of traitor Pak Song Bin, a vicious lackey of Japanese imperialism.



South Korean peasants live the worst life in 4,000 years owing to the brutal military fascist rule and anti-popular agricultural policy of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

His career as an ugly traitor started in 1937 when he began to teach at the Mungyong primary school in Mungyong county North Kyongsang Province.

His "Japanese spirit" was stronger than anyone else. He devoted his all to making his pupils the "subjects of the Japanese empire" while at the school. In 1940 he sent a "petition written in his own blood" and was enrolled at the Hsinking military cadet school of puppet Manchoukuo where the lackeys of Japanese imperialism were trained to serve its aggression on the continent.

This shows how thirsty for fame Pak Jung Hi was and how deeply he was imbued with the pro-Japanese, fascist spirit.

Pak Jung Hi pledged himself to become a faithful subject of "His Imperial Majesty" of Jaanese imperialism. When he graduated from the Hsinking military cadet school in 1942, Pak Jung Hi took the pledge of loyalty to Pu Yi, the "Emperor of the Manchoukuo," a puppet of Japanese imperialsim, who awarded him a gold watch as a prize. (South Korean book biography of Seven Politicians of South Korea, 1962, p. 97).

Having been recognized as a man who would be loyal to the Japanese imperialists, Pak Jung Hi, upon his graduation from the military school, was sent to the infantry course of the Japanese military cadet school.

He was so faithful to Japanese imperialism at the cadet school that a Japanese instructor told its entire students : "Although Pak is a peninsular (At that time the Japanese imperialists called Koreans peninsulars-Ed.), he is a pure Japanese as far as his spirit is concerned. Few Japanese are, I'm afraid, so loyal to His Imperial Majesty as Pak."

Having won such a deep confidence from the Japanese imperialists, Pak Jung Hi was assigned as second lieutenant of the Japanese Army to the 8th infantry regiment, 6th military district of the puppet Manchoukou, upon graduation from the Japanese military cadet school in 1944. Since then, at Tungchang, Pingchen, Chunhwa and Maochun in China, he took part in the "mopping-up" operations on 110 occasions against the anti-Japanese guerrillas who were fighting for the restoration of the country (Ibid., p. 97) and in these "operations" he committed the towering atrocity of butchering a large number of innocent people.

For such "distinguished services," traitor Pak Jung Hi was decorated by the Japanese imperialists many times, and in July 1945, only one year after his appointment, he was promoted to lieutenant and became a company commander.

Now traitor Pak Jung Hi even changed his name to a Japanese one-Company Commander Okamoto. Already in those days traitor Pak Jung Hi got in touch with a Japanese imperialist special agent named Yutaro Suzuki, and laid information against many of his colleagues in the army unit whom he believed to be "ideologically unhealthy" and helped the Japanese imperialists kill them.



The South Korean peasants who suffer from serious crop failure bear a grudge and indignation against U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

Promoted to a company commander of the "Imperial Army," traitor Pak Jung Hi said to his men at Pingchen: "The communists are all our enemy." (Ibid., pp. 97-98)

And he forced his men to display "gallantry" in the "mopping-up operations" to "annihilate-communists."

As seen from the above, Pak Jung Hi was a most villainous traitor, pro-Japanese and "anti-communists," to the bone.

The defeat of Japanese imperialism was a thunderbolt to traitor Pak Jung Hi.

Wailing over its defeat, he blurted out to the men of the dearmy: "I hope the day would come when we exchange congratulations with each other on the Amrok river after annihilating the communist army as soon as possible." (Ibid., p. 99)

What Pak Jung Hi had done before liberation furnishes us with a good illustration of the dirty character of Pak Jung Hi as an out-and -out pro-Japanese, "anti-communist" running dog and a traitor to the nation.

-Under American Imperialist Colonial Rule-

With the defeat of Japanese imperialism, traitor Pak Jung Hi was disarmed and dispirited, quite at a loss what to do. But soon he was picked up as a special agent by an itelligence organ of the U.S. imperialists operating in China in those days.

It was because Pak Jung Hi who was loyal to Japanese imperialism as a "special-grade Japanese" had qualities as an agent-a record of his service under Yutaro Suzuki, a Japanese special agent in Manchuria and his strong thirst for fame and riches plus brutality.

In mid-May 1946 the intelligence agency of U.S. imperialism carried traitor Pak Jung Hi from Tangku port near Tientsin to Inchon by thier landing craft. (South Korean paper Kukje Shinbo, 3-14 May, 1962.)

Later on, the U.S. imperialists handed him over to their "intelligence corps" in South Korea and placed him under the control of Captain Johnson, an intelligence officer of the U.S. imperialists aggressor army.

Traitor Pak Jung Hi returned to his native place in North Kyongsang Province in 1946, and then entered the puppet army officers' school. Here his career as a special agent of U.S. imperialism started in real earnest. This swine was commissioned captain of the puppet army on graduation from the school and served right at the school as commander of students' company in 1947 and then as chief of administrative section. In 1948 the intelligence organ of the U.S. imperialists got Pak Jung Hi married to a strumpet called Ryuk Yong Su, their agent. This couple of U.S. special agents launched out into committing the traitorous crimes more unscrupuously at the instructions of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

In October 1948, the patriotic-minded men and officers of the "ROK Army" stationed in Ryosu and Sunchon, South Cholla Province, rose up against the repression and massacre of people by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackey Syngman Rhee puppet regime.



In South Korea under the occupation of U.S. imperialism school-age children who are hunger-stricken are plucking grass roots to fill their empty stomachs

The people in the areas also joined the army in the riot against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The patriotic-minded armymen, together with them, valiantly fought demanding the "establishment of the people's committees," the "enforcement of democratic reforms including the land reforms" and the "repeal of all undemocratic laws." It was in those days that Pak Jung Hi smelled out the revolutionary organizations in the puppet army and informed their patrons against the patriotic-minded armymen carrying on underground activities and thus had a share in murdering them.

According to the account of an eyewitness, 600 -650 progressive officers and more than 1,000 soldiers were imprisoned in the Mapo prison on Pak Jung Hi's information as of October 1949.



The U.S. imperialist aggressors who are frantic with the preparations for a new war, deprived South Koreans of a large area of land to turn it into their military bases

The following testimony given by a certain Ko, then interpreter of the U.S. imperialist aggressor army is enough to get an idea of how many patriots Pak Jung Hi arrested and slaughtered.

"Had it not been for Pak Jung Hi, the Ryosu and Sunchon riot might have developed otherwise. One of the hiterto-unkown persons who have rendered good service in keeping the new-born Republic of Korea alive is Pak Jung Hi." (South Korean book Unsong Song, p. 155.)

Such traitorous acts won for Pak Jung Hi the favor of his master U.S. imperialist aggressors, who, highly appreciating his "distinguished service," promoted him from chief of section No. 1 under the information bureau of the headquarters of the South Korean puppet army, then on to the commander of the secret corps, divisional commander and to military district commander of the puppet army and up to the chief of operational staff of its headquarters. In this way they systematically trained him into a pet dog to get him to carry out a more important "mission."

While traitor Pak Jung Hi was thus trained, the crisis of the U.S. imperialist colonial rule over South Korea was aggravated. The Syngman Rhee puppet regime was toppled by the April 19 Popular Uprising in 1960. The "Hoh Chong caretaker government" and the "Chong Myon regime' all proved impotent and they tottered.

So the U.S. imperialists were in urgent need of a lackey who had an "ability" to put down mercilessly the South Korean people who had dauntlessly come in demand of the right to live and the country's unification.

Kenndy, who admitted the assertion of the former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Reishauer that "new young military men who have gone through the fire of the war should take over the future of South Korea" and "energetically pushed ahead with the plan of a military coup by military men." (Japanese magazine Sekai, No. 5, 1962.)

In this way, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the business of which is to commit espionage acts and hatch plots, instigated behind the scenes its long-trained dog Pak Jung Hi to stage a "military coup" and seize the "power," in a vain attempt to save the tottering colonial rule of U.S. imperialism from the crisis.

John Allen Dulles, then Chief of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, confessed over the BBC T.V. on May 3, 1964 that "One of the most sucessful overseas

continued on next page

# *ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUEBLO AFFAIR*

continued from page 8

So, seven of us succeeded in capturing 83 men of the Pueblo. The whole thing took 13 minutes, and we started for our base. Only then did assist ships arrive. While taking the Pueblo to our base I searched every room of the ship with Bucher. While I had been in the command post, Master Sergeant Ho HyongGun entored below deck.

(Next we talked to Master Sergeant Ho.)

HO: I was ordered to search inside the rooms of the Pueblo and with a private first class of our search party, went below deck where I found rooms full of Yankee crewmen. As soon as they saw us, they all raised their hands. Some of them had been hiding under desks and in corners of the room. They were all in civilian clothes. We ordered them to come out onto the deck. This way we captured 30 of the crew members.

After bringing them out on deck, I ordered the private to watch them, and again entered the rooms. I found military uniforms, helmets, etc. While searching the rooms, I heard signal sounds of a wireless set. So I entered the radio rooms, but two of them were empty. The signals continued from third room, which was locked, I struck the equipment and wrecked the antennae and it stopped.

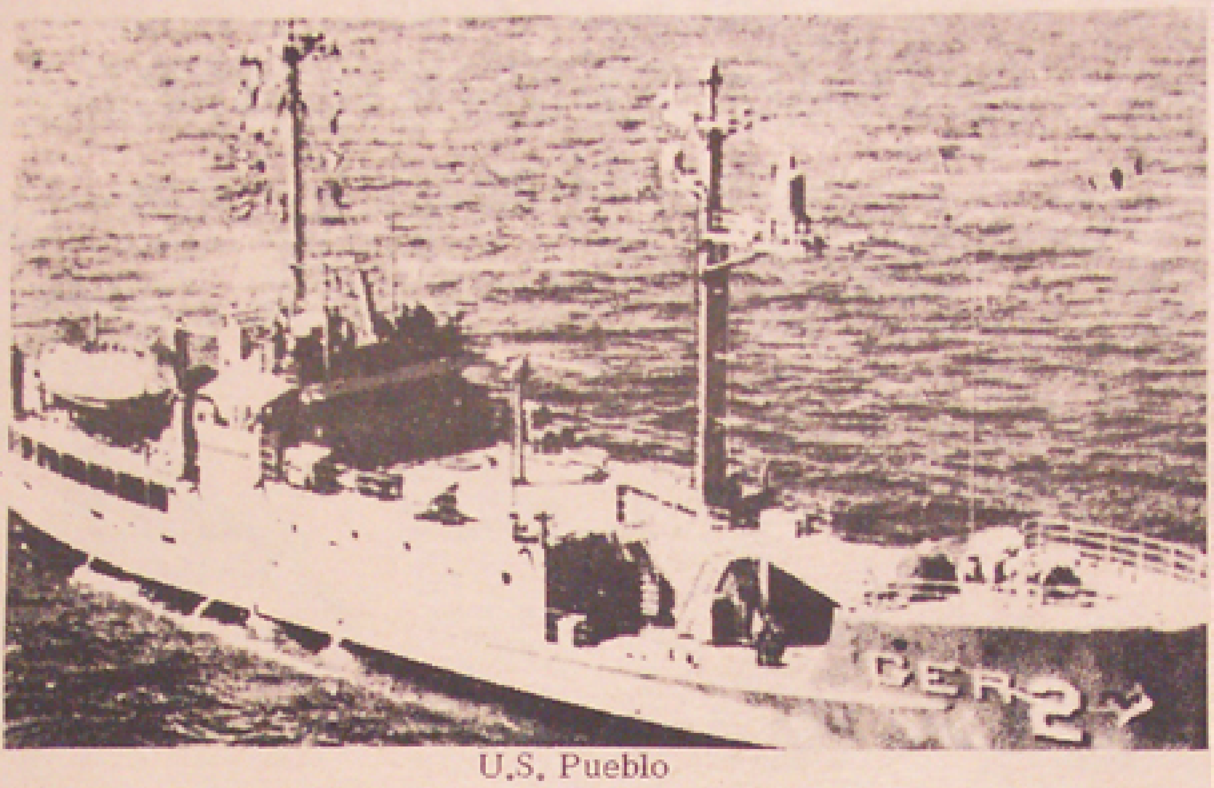
QUESTION: did the Pueblo crew try to destroy any equipment or documents?

ANSWER: When we were searching we found many traces of their attempts to destroy the ship's equipment. There were some bullet holes on the equipment, some of the documents were burned.

Jr. Captain Pak and Master Sergeant Ho then told us that the youngest member of the patrol boat's crew was 21 years old at the time of the capture. Jr. Captain Pak, who had commanded the boarding party, had served in the navy for three years.

They explained, also, that they thought there was evidence of discrimination among the crew of the Pueblo, since the only three Black crewmen had all been assigned as cooks. We asked them how it was possible for seven men to capture 83, for one small patrol boat to capture a 1,000 ton armed ship. Jr. Captain Pak said, he felt that the lack of resistance from the Pueblo crew could be attributed to the openly displayed fear of the officers, and the division between officers and men. Master Sergeant Ho said, "I realized that since they were aggressors, they were cowards. But we were ready to fight, though we might have been killed in our just fight to defend our "Fatherland"

Several points stand out from the interview. First of all, Bucher and the Pueblo crew were hardly confronted by "overwhelming" force. Second, the Korean soldiers never shot at any of the American crew, having agreed not to fire on board. The wounded and dead Americans were hit by shells fired in the boat-to-boat battle that preceded the boarding. Third, the Pueblo was clearly in the service of the CIA, and the fact that the crew were in civilian clothers and the ship had all identification marks removed was consistent with its mission as an armed spy vessel.



U.S. Pueblo

Fourth, the capture of the Pueblo in Korean waters was given wide publicity by the U.S. press, yet the facts of this open provocation were concealed from the American people. We were told that, in 1967 there were over 140 violations, of Korean coastal waters by the U.S. over 125,000 bullets and 1,270 shells fired on more than 540 occasions across the demilitarized zone. In that year these provocations surpassed all similar acts in the preceding 13 years. The North Korean people firmly believe that the U.S. is actively preparing for a new war in Korea, and that these provocations are designed to create the excuse for a full scale attack. The similarity with the so-called Gulf of Tonkin incident needs no further comment.

While we were in the DPRK a U.S. helicopter was shot down 15 miles inside North Korean territory. Three armed saboteurs were captured by the Korean Peoples Army, carrying weapons, anesthetics, and poisons. Such acts of aggression are committed with increasing frequency and severity. Yet the American people are rarely told about these events and when news does leak out, it is distorted and twisted.

It is time for the American people to demand that the U.S. get out of South Korea, and cease provocations against the North. It is time that the U.S. stop supporting dictators and puppets like Pak Jung HI (Chung Hee Park) in South Korea. How many more American men must die in foreign wars of aggression against peoples who want no more than a decent life, freedom, and self-determination?

**TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE D.P.R. OF KOREA**

The Government of the United States of America,

Acknowledging the validity of the confessions of the crew of the USS "Pueblo" and of the documents of evidence produced by the representative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that the ship, which was seized by the self-defense measures of the naval vessels of the Korean People's Army in the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on January 23, 1968, had illegally intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on many occasions and conducted espionage activities of spying out important military and state secrets of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea,

Shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the U.S. ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after having intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

And gives firm assurance that no U.S. ships will intrude again in future into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Government of the United States of America earnestly requests the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to deal leniently with the former crewmembers of the USS "Pueblo" confiscated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side, taking into consideration the fact that these members have confessed honestly to their crimes and petitioned the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for leniency.

On behalf of the Government of the United States of America.

Gilbert H. Woodward
Major General United States Army
23 Dec. 1968

# *THE TRUE COLORS OF TRAITOR, PAK JUNG HI*

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activities conducted by the CIA during my tenure of office was the military revolution in the Republic of Korea." (Japanese) This confession of Dulles clearly proves that the manipulator of the military coup in South Korea was none other than the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

After the military coup on May 16, 1961 Pak Jung Hi became so-called "Chairman of the Supreme Reconstruction Council." In a matter of less than ten days, the gangster dissolved or closed down by force 261 political parties and public organizations and more than 900 press and publishing organs. Besides, traitor Pak Jung Hi arrested 100,000 or more patriotic personages and guiltless people, and killed or put them on the murderous "trial" in a month following the coup.

At the same time, Pak Jung Hi enacted such an unheard-of evil law as the "law on purification of political activities" and bound 4,386 politicians including "reformists" hand and foot. Not content with this, he conducted an extensive purging campaigh both in the political circle and the army by forging "cases of plot for rebellion" to eliminate his opponents.

Traitor Pak Jung Hi served U.S. imperialism as its faithful dog and, at the same time, rendered a good service to his former master Japanese Militarism as its dog.

On November 12, 1961 traitor Pak Jung Hi paid a "visit" to Japan for the first time after he had come to "power." Upon his arrival in Japan he first "bowed low with respect toward the Imperial Palace." He then met Ikeda, then Prime Minister of Japan, and Kishi, Ikeda's predecessor, and assured them that he would "revive the spirit of the Japanese loyalists at the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1886 in the Republic of Korea." He then called on Kumo Minami, his "teacher" who had trained him at the Hsinking military cadet school of the puppet Manchoukuo and director of this school and as a gift. He also met Yutaro Suzuki, the Japanese special agent who had maintained contact with him when he was with the 8th regiment of puppet Manchoukuo army, and Kiyohara (now called Yukawa), an ultra-nationalist and and one of his seniors at the Japanese military cadet school, and had secret talks with them to bring the "South Korea-Japan talks" to a sucessful conclusion.

Praising the pro-Japanese move of Pak Jung Hi, Ikeda and Kishi said: "The military government is the most pro-Japanese one we have ever seen in the Republic of Korea."

At the negotiations designed to place the fellow countrymen at the disposal of his master Japanese imperialists on the instructions of the U.S. imperialists and at the request of Japan, Pak Jung Hi raved: "I will conclude the South Korea-Japan Treaty even if I am labelled as the second Li Wan Yong (thrice-cursed traitor who sold out the country to Japanese imperialism in 1905-Ed.)". Pak Jung Hi suppressed the people who came out against his scheme at the point of the bayonet and signed the treacherous "South Korean-Japan Treaty" which had remained pending for 15 years, revelaing his true colors as a dyed-in-the-wool traitor once again.

Arch traitor Pak Jung Hi sold out the country and the nation to his former master at the bidding of the U.S. imperialists. Even this, however, didn't satisfy him and made him restless.

So he payed his second visit to the den of the U.S. imperialist aggressors in May 1965 to curry favor with his master U.S. imperialists.

Pak Jung Hi flattered Johnson, boss of murderers, saying: "I have come to the U.S.A. only to feel myself at home as if I were back from a foreign country. I express gratitude to the U.S.A. for leading South Korea" and so forth.

What is more, traitor Pak Jung Hi gave Johnson his promise to send 50,000 puppet armymen to Vietnam as cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialist aggressors in return for a few penny of "aid" offered by U.S. imperialism, and he unhesitatingly committed the crime of putting his promise into practice.

In this way Pak Jung Hi sent, before any other puppets of the U.S. imperialists, the largest number of armymen to the battlefield of the ignominious war of aggression in South Vietnam, and thus exposed his own nature as the most faithful running dog of U.S. imperialism in all its nakedness. Indeed, traitor Pak Jung Hi's is a dirty career laden with traitorous acts with unprecedented crimes.

He is now engrossed in the fascist repression of the South Korean people faithfully following the U.S. imperialists in their new war scheme, in a hopeless attempt to survive for the rest of his dirty life.

This, however, is a fruitless effort. The revolutionaries and patriotic-minded people of South Korea today know well the true colors of Pak Jung Hi, a filthy pro-American and pro-Japanese double henchman, and they are waging a heroic struggle to sweep away the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the traitors.

The South Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people who are unfolding the sacred anti-U.S., National Salvation Struggle along to a path indicated by the respected and beloved Leader of the 40 million Korean people, Comrade Kim Il Sung, upholding his great revolutionary ideas, will certainly drive out the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and mete out a severe punishment to traitor Pak Jung Hi, a special agent of the Japanese and U.S. imperialists and a traitor to the nation who has committed indelible crimes, through their more tireless and determined struggle.

# October 1966
## Black Panther Party Platform and Program




# What We Want What We Believe

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to **secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long **established** should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**

